

Message Text

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EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR MRN 3794 VICE 7394

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, EEC, IT, FR
SUBJECT: JOBERT-MORO DISCUSSIONS ON EUROPE AND US-EUROPE RELATIONS
1. SUMMARY. MARCH 15-16 INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN JOBERT AND
MORO PRODUCED SEVERAL SURPRISES FOR ITALIANS: (1) GOF POSITION
THAT ITS ATTITUDES ON DEFENSE MATTERS ARE RESULT OF GEOGRAPHY AND
ATOMIC STRIKING FORCE AND NOT IDEALOGICAL DIFFERENCES WITH ITS
PARTNERS; (2) DENIAL BY JOBERT THAT FRANCE SEEKS EUROPEAN LEADER-
SHIP; (3) DISCLOSURE OF FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR EUROPEAN CONFEDERATION
WITH EXECUTIVE, SECRETARIAT AND BI-CAMERAL PARLIMENTARY
INSTITUTION, AND (4) JOBERT DECLARATION THAT FRANCE CONSIDERS
ITSELF ATLANTICIST IN ATTITUDE, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT WILLING TO
SIGN A DOCUMENT SAYING SO. JOBERT WARNED AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO
MOVE EC TO MAJORITY VOTING. MEETING ALSO PRODUCED AGREEMENT THAT
EC SHOULD RESIST UK RENEGOTIATION. ATMOSPHERE WAS GOOD. END
SUMMARY.

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2. ON MARCH 18 I REVIEWED WITH SECRETARY GENERAL GAJA THE RESULTS OF THE INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT AND FOREIGN MINISTER MORO IN BARI MARCH 15 AND 16. GAJA HAD BEEN PRESENT AT MOST BUT NOT ALL OF THE CONVERSATIONS. HE DREW ON DRAFT MFA CIRCULAR TELEGRAM SUMMARIZING TALKS TO SUPPLEMENT HIS PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

3. FIRST DAY WAS DEVOTED TO REVIEW OF BREZHEV-POMPIDOU AND GROMYKO-MORO DISCUSSIONS AND IS BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY. SUBSTANCE OF DISCUSSIONS ANON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AND US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS FOLLOWS:

A. ALLIANCE MATTERS. ITALIANS WERE SURPRISED BY JOBERT'S FRANKNESS IN ACKNOWLEDGING DIVERGENCIES OF FRENCH INTERESTS FROM THOSE OF ITS EC PARTNERS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. JOBERT TOLD THE ITALIANS THAT GOF RECOGNIZES THAT FRANCE HAS AN ADVANTAGEOUS GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION WHICH, TOGETHER WITH ITS ATOMIC STRIKING FORCE, PUTS FRANCE IN A DIFFERENT POSITION FROM ITS EC PARTNERS, MOST OF WHOM ARE MORE EXPOSED. THE GOF UNDERSTANDS AND ACCEPTS THAT THEIR VIEWPOINTS ARE DIFFERENT AND ASKS ONLY THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH FRANCE STEM FROM DIFFERENT OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS AND NOT A CONFLICT OF IDEOLOGY. IN THIS CONNECTION JOBERT MADE A POINT OF DENYING THAT FRANCE HAS ANY ASPIRATION FOR PLAYING A SPECIAL LEADERSHIP ROLE IN EUROPE: FRANCE RECOGNIZES THAT FUTURE EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP WILL BE COLLECTIVE AND FRANCE SEEKS ONLY TO PLAY THE ROLE OF ONE PARTNER IN THIS COLLECTIVE PROCESS. ITALIANS WERE ALSO SURPRISED BY THIS POINT.

B. EUROPEAN UNION OR CONFEDERATION. JOBERT REITERATED FRENCH POSITION THAT FRANCE ACCEPTS AND WELCOMES EVENTUAL EUROPEAN UNITY AND MERELY BELIEVES THIS SHOULD BE ATTAINED BY DELIBERATE STEPS SINCE RUSHING MATTERS WOULD LEAD TO INTRA-EC DIFFICULTIES AND CONFLICTS WHICH WOULD IN THE END SLOW PROGRESS TOWARD UNITY. HE CITED MOVEMENT TO MAJORITY VOTING AS ONE SPECIFIC MATTER WHICH WOULD BE TROUBLESOME IF PROPOSED PREMATURELY. JOBERT TOLD THE ITALIANS THAT GOF PLANS TO SUBMIT TO THE NEXT EC SUMMIT A PROPOSAL FOR A EUROPEAN UNION OR CONFEDERATION. AS EXPLAINED BY THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER, THE NEW ORGANIZATION WOULD HAVE AN EXECUTIVE COMPOSED IN ONE OF THREE WAYS; (A) ON A ROTATING BASIS BETWEEN MEMBER STATES, (B) THROUGH A COUNCIL WHICH WOULD MEET AT FREQUENT REGULAR INTERVALS, OR (C) THROUGH A PERMANENT EXECUTIVE BODY. JOBERT PROPOSAL WILL ALSO ENVISAGE CREATION OF A POLITICAL SECRETARIAT, OF SUBSTANTIALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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GREATER SIZE AND IMPORTANCE THAN IN EARLIER FRENCH PROPOSALS, WHICH HE THOUGHT MIGHT BE LOCATED IN PARIS. A EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTION WOULD BE CREATED WITH A SENATE REPRESENTING CONFEDERAL INTERESTS AND A CHAMBER BASED ON POPULATION. AT LEAST THE SECOND BODY WOULD BE ELECTED DIRECTLY. GAJA COMMENTED THAT ITALIANS WELCOME THIS IDEA ALTHOUGH IT BYPASSES THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT WHICH ITALY HAS BELIEVED SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED.

C. UK RENEGOTIATION. JOBERT AND MORO HAD MEETING OF MINDS

WHICH WAS REFLECTED IN THEIR STATEMENT TO PRESS MARCH 16 THAT NEITHER FRANCE NOR ITALY WILL ACCEPT ANY REVISION OF THE TREATY OF ACCESSION. GAJA MENTIONED IN AN ASIDE THAT UK HAS INFORMED EC PARTNERS THAT IT WILL ACCEPT APRIL 1 MOVEMENT TOWARD CAP PRICES BUT WANTS THIS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN ESCAPE CLAUSE IN CASE OF INFLATIONARY CONDITIONS (PARA 3 LONDON 3418). MFA WILL WANT TO DISCUSS NATURE OF THE ESCAPE CLAUSE ("NO BLANK CHECKS") BUT IS MODERATELY ENCOURAGED THAT UK APPARENTLY IS NOT PRESSING FOR A CONFRONTATION.

D. US-EC RELATIONS. ITALIANS RAISED WITH JOBERT HIS STATEMENTS IN PARIS THAT IF FACED WITH A CHOICE BETWEEN US TROOP PRESENCE AND FRENCH DIGNITY, FRENCH WOULD CHOOSE DIGNITY. GAJA, ALLUDING TO FRENCH REPUTATION FOR CLARITY AND LOGIC, NOTED THAT JOBERT RESPONDED WITH A LONG AND COMPLEX HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF FRENCH ATTITUDES. (IN EARLIER PORTION OF CONVERSATION, GAJA, WHO KNOWS JOBERT FAIRLY WELL, MENTIONED THAT JOBERT'S PERSONALITY IS SUCH THAT HE ALTERNATES BETWEEN RETICENCE AND EXPLOSIVENESS, WHICH WE BELIEVE GAJA MAY HAVE INTENDED AS AN EXPLANATION FOR SOME OF JOBERT'S REMARKS WHICH ITALIANS FEEL ARE UNHELPFUL AND INTEMPERATE.) GAJA AGREED WITH MY OBSERVATION THAT SUBSEQUENT MORE CONCILIATORY JOBERT STATEMENTS MAY REFLECT INTERVENTION BY PRESIDENT POMPIDOU. MOST SURPRISING ELEMENT OF WHOLE MEETING, GAJA SAID, WAS JOBERT'S STATEMENT ON ATLANTICISM: HE TOLD THE ITALIANS IN CLEAREST TERMS THAT FRANCE, LIKE THE OTHER EIGHT, IS AN ATLANTICIST AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS ONE. THE ONLY CAVEAT IS THAT FRANCE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO SIGN A DOCUMENT ACKNOWLEDGING THIS POINT.

4. GAJA TOLD ME THAT HE THOUGHT THE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE TRIP WERE GOOD. HE FOUND JOBERT RELAXED AND ALERT AND NOTICEABLY MORE AT EASE AND MORE CORDIAL THAN DURING THEIR LAST EXTENDED MEETING DURING THE POMPIDOU-ANDREOTTI MEETING IN LUCCA IN JUNE 1972. VOLPE

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